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821 192 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *manake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 787 224 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phenomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapua. When lightning (*uilo*) strikes the ground or a tree [547] or when a meteor (*mata uoi kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*uuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good. [613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te uale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot 821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu ahou* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua halou*, *louili hula*, *louili uli*, *louili ahou*, and *louili taupulopulo*, which live under the sand. *Unuhoo* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *vulwyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *vulwyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*halukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokou tai* and *vulou*. Only the *vulou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *vulou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *vulou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Keipua are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *hoowa* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tuua te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kaowa* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *hoowa* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lasuga kaowa*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *hoowa* were not reserved (*weakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa ua*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *mole* cord (*matai mole*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawaa ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tupotupo a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaevaevanga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yau*) worn by women. The art of making the *yau* has been lost today.

Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hio* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe was mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*mahamanea* or *mea mahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takeve*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consultations. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malokitelangi, Te Mataleiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *walo* fiber (*epa walo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hio* material (*epa taulihi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the man or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

A special type of headdress (*tauvaka hano* or *tauvaka liki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ⅜ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11¾ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau kotawa* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *kupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putihi kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
643 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.
692 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:
787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*une*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakai*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people and for their vigorous old age, unmarked by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

[826]

A distribution (*laukava*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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842 827 steps the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no ideas as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 787 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *miti mahatiti tangata* (conception dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful talo patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *miti mahatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

[828]

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *mahangaulu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

> All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*ngakau kino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*uwaine pouga*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*tepa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *titike* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

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843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 787 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on observations of the mother's abdomen and on dreams. If the pregnant woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli tuwilouiloaki*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli motuwie*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives much certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—bar accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female, for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Yuya matulangi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Uiu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngalael, ngalael,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Uli	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Uli!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kauu*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *lauhava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*niu wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te hava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*auvanga*) of the old men's group (*tupele*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamatyei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli uanua*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taps or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

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Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

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Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua pumpomu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *tuuta*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata tuai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uukayauinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uukayauinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uukayauinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate antisocial conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wakatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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To *iupa*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a br...r...r... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*iupa te ieo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*bilibilio*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*ananga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga watu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *welo* bark (*wati welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

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god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *welo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tauvaga*[1] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[1] The Pukapukan word *tauvaga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

159 a garden of beautiful flowers and a woman, dreamer's father's brother's daughter, blossomed forth as one of the flowers.

(This informant has had many dreams of the dead, who look just as when they lived.)

159 Talainga: A recent dream related to special activity, fishing.
787 He dreamt he saw a big ship sailing over the land. On board were many Pukapukan men as well as white men. The ship sailed on to the taro beds and ever onward. As it passed him, Talainga recognized Iti and others on board and spoke to them, asking where they are going. They answered, "To the taro beds, and beyond in that direction." The ship disappeared and he dreamt that he then walked down to the beach He found that he was holding a fishline for kakai in his hands. He walked out to the sea and cast the line. He caught a fish which he tossed onto the beach.

(The day after this dream, he went fishing and caught plenty of fish. A dream of good luck, this.)

159 Talainga: After several sessions' work with Mrs. Henry [resident agent's wife] and me. [Pearl Beaglehole.]

He dreamt he was at the cricket ground (where he'd umpired women's cricket in which both Mrs. Henry and I had participated), a clearing on the road, surrounded by thick groves of coconut trees. The place was full of water. He saw a cemetery close by in which the graves were all pointing south. Nearby was a little house, which resembled a W.C. Asking whose house it was, he learned that it belonged to E. and P. [Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole] someone told him to move the house from alongside the burial ground. He hesitated to do this because the ground was so wet. Disliking the job, he and two others moved the house. Put down, the house was moved yet again by other people. Then he saw E. stood in front of the house, opened the door, and went in. The end of the dream

(Before either the dream was dreamt or related, informant had been invited by E. and P. to pay them a visit to their house, which was undoubtedly an important thing for him.)

Eliu: Dreamt of a meeting of Ngake men, who when ended took their canoes to the back of the island. Saw them in their canoes, fishing. He dreamt that he was lying in the meeting house watching the canoes. Where he was, he sank his line down into the ground. He pulled his line in thinking he had caught a kakai. But it was not a kakai, only a pala. He got hold of the jaws of the fish and told Te Ingoa to hit the fish, which the latter did, killing it. Then the dreamer threw his line again. This time he caught a whale which jumped about on the land and broke loose. He tried to catch it, and after a bit, succeeded. The whale's head was broken, and blood was

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata